3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*n773 *532 filling the panel *e*, symbolizes the bush-fire.[86] They also represent the white-barked eucalyptus trees, *gurnii*, once the men who took part in the ceremony. On panel *f* are the paper-bark trees of the Matamataui swamp, and on panel *g* the hive of wild bees which escaped to Milingimbi. The diamonds indicate the paper-bark trees at Matamataui.[87]

Plate 93D is another representation of the bush-fire on the Gainmaui River. On the two lower panels are nine camp-fires, the circles representing the fire and radiating cross-hatched lines the logs of wood on the fire. The two large circles, with a human figure inside, are bark huts, each having a camp-fire at the entrance. The parallel cross-hatched bands at *a* represent a stack of firewood, the longitudinal band, *b*, the Gainmaui River and the cross-hatched band, *c*, a nearby range of hills. The area destroyed by the fire is represented by the two upper panels, the curving parallel lines to the left being a tributary of the Gainmaui River.

Aborigines Gathering Eggs of Sea-birds

[223] This painting deals with the time when two groups of aborigines, in their canoes, went to an island where the sea-birds nested. They gathered many eggs and brought them back to camp.

Plate 93C illustrates some of the incidents of that journey. The left-hand panel is the island covered with nesting sea-birds. The birds on the left are sitting on their eggs, while those on the right adjacent to two men are in flight. The numerous white dots are eggs. On the left-hand side, near some of the nests, are fish which the birds have brought in to feed their young. On the right are two canoes, loaded to the gunwale with eggs (white dots). The two rectangular cross-hatched areas in this panel represent rough water which almost swamped the canoes. The three dolphins, lower right, were seen on the outward journey.

The Man, Walanwanga, at Garawinu Island

During creation times a mythical *dua* man lived on a small island, Garawinu, east of Woodah Island.

[136] *Walanwanga*, who was skilled in fishing and hunting, was successful in capturing many dolphins, fish, water-snakes and green turtles. Since that time, there has always been an abundance of those creatures at Garawinu Island.[88]

On the upper and lower panels of Pl. 91A are five dolphins, *indjapana*, and between them three water-snakes, *jalu*; the small fish are unidentified. In the central panel are five green turtles, *gariwa*. The ovals above and below are rocks that project from the sea, the haunt of many green turtles, and the transverse lines, *a* and *b*, reefs of rock outside Garawinu Island.

[302] [891] 86. The design of the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay, Fig. 63M. The same fire symbol was painted in the body of an initiate during a circumcision ceremony at Yirkalla, Pl. 129C.

87. The design of the *dalwanga mata* of Blue Mud Bay, Fig. 63J.

88. This is a parallel myth to that of the *jiritja* island of Garabi, off the coast of Port Bradshaw, p. 378.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 C117 Muragin C117

(b) DEATH AND BURIAL

There are three important events in the life of every male aboriginal of Arnhem Land—in fact, in the life of any tribalized Australian aboriginal birth, when he leaves the land of the spirits and enters the every-day world; initiation, when he is admitted into the sacred or ritualistic world, where age makes him increasingly important; and death, when he leaves the every-day world, and again enters into the land of the spirits.

Although there are few rituals associated with birth, those of initiation and the later age-grading ceremonies are long and complicated, for it is by these ceremonies that men are admitted deeper and deeper into the secret life of the tribe.

At death, the burial rituals extend over many weeks, their purpose being not only to send the spirit so happily to its future home that it will not be a danger to the living, but also to allow the living to adjust themselves to their loss.

The burial ceremonies at Yirrkalla have three main phases: (i) the ceremonies at death, (ii) the cleansing of the bones, and (iii) the final burial, after which the spirit of the dead leaves for its aboriginal 'heaven'. If the dead are of the *dua* moiety, the spirit goes to Purelko, and if of the *jiritja*, to Nalkuna.

(i) *The Ceremonies at Death*

When a man dies his relatives gather round the dead body, wailing loudly, the women cutting their scalps with sharpened bones until the blood flows freely. After a short period of wailing the men form a group apart from the women and chant the long series of songs which belong to the totemic group of their dead companion. Next morning the men proceed with the rites of burial, first by rubbing red ochre over the body of the corpse, and on that painting his totemic design.[13] The men also make two bark effigies[14] which they put under the arms of the corpse. They explain to him that the effigies are his children, whom they have killed and placed beside him to prevent him being lonely and wishing to return to haunt the living. The corpse is then wrapped in a thick layer of paper-bark and tied with string.

While all this is being done, other men are erecting a platform of logs about five feet in height and covering it with a layer of leaves. Then, while the men chant another series of totemic songs belonging to the dead man, two aborigines

13. This totemic design is the same as that painted on his body during circumcision. See body paintings associated with circumcision, Pl. 128. Warner (1937), pp. 415-16, in his description and interpretation of the mortuary rituals of the Murngin, an adjacent people, records that the totemic design is painted on the body of the dead man so that the spirits, or *Mokoi*, can identify him.

14. Similar to the bark figures, Fig. 65C, D. Frazer (1936), p. 59, records: 'In Tahiti . . . the priest took a number of small slips of plantain leaf-stalk, fixed two or three pieces under each arm of the corpse, placed a few on the breast, and then, addressing the corpse, said, "There are your family, there is your child, there is your wife, there is your father, and there is your mother. Be satisfied yonder (that is, in the world of the spirits). Look not toward those who are left in this world."'

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*773 *532 The yams are engraved in panel *a*, and their foliage indicated by the decorative chevron-like designs at *b* and *c*. The pattern *d* on the upper right, with a meandering line down the centre, is a small fresh-water stream near the totemic place.

The Man, Tualpa, and the Sacred Tree of Blue Mud Bay

This painted pipe represents a sacred tree which once grew on the shores of Blue Mud Bay. One day a man (unnamed), not knowing that the tree was sacred, cut it down to make a special spear, called *bunungara*. *Tualpa*, the owner of the tree, was so angry over the vandalism that he speared the culprit. [623] The dead tree now lies at the mouth of a lagoon emptying into Blue Mud Bay. During the wet season it is submerged by the fresh water flowing from the swamps into the sea. When the swamps are dry, the log is sometimes covered by the high tide.

The transverse bands, *e*, *e*, on Pl. 128B represent the tide marks on the tree; the cross-hatched panel, *a*, the fresh water; and *b*, *c* and *d*, the sea-water, which during the dry season alternately covers and uncovers the tree-trunk.

The Four Jiritja Men of Melville Bay

During *bumun* (creation times) four *jiritja* men,[84] *Djamburi*, *Wanatpai*, *Bandarunga* and *Kainoltja*, created a number of natural features at each of their camps along the shores of Melville Bay.

Plate 128A is the complete design of the painted pipe; *a* is *Djamburi*, *b* is *Wanatpai*,[84] *c* *Bandarunga*, and *e* *Kainoltja*. Each of these men is smoking a pipe. The four squares at *f* are four wells, each man having his own. Their footprints are in panel *e*.

3. BODY PAINTING

303 *532 619 ●881 [424] In north-eastern Australia the art of body painting is most important, for it is by means of the designs painted on the novices during the various age-grading ceremonies, and on the fully initiated men whilst engaged in their totemic rituals, that the totem, the clan group, *mala*, and the linguistic group, *mata*, of each individual can be recognized. As far as the present evidence goes (the investigation is far from complete) it seems that each *mata*, which may include several *mala*, has its own specific design, which is the personal property of that group and cannot be used by any other.[85] During the circumcision ceremonies[86]

[616 276 424] 83. It is the mythical men of the *jiritja* moiety only who smoke. It is of interest to notice that the four men depicted on this pipe are not smoking the long Malay pipe, but one which resembles those used by our own party, called by the aborigines *Baijini* pipes. Nowadays all aborigines smoke, but a member of one moiety will not use a pipe decorated with the designs of the opposite moiety without the owner's permission. If he did so, the spirit of the pipe would make him ill.

84. See bark painting of *Wanatpai*, Pl. 95B.

85. See myth of the origin of the design of the crabs, *gunjun*, p. 288.

86. In north-eastern Arnhem Land the boys are circumcised when they are from six to eight years of age.

[text continues on p. 402]

3; Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

I witnessed at Yirrkalla each of the four boys was painted with the *mata* design of the particular language group to which he belonged.* The design would be his throughout life and even at death would be painted on his body. I found out the *mata* of each body painting, its meaning and its associated myth.

The Water-lily, Jouku, and the Wild Bees, Kamou, of Blue Mud Bay

The myth of an unidentified totemic water-lily, *jouku*, belonging to the *jiritja* moiety of the Matamataui swamps is associated with several other totemic beings, the man *Wunamungaria*,[87] the man *Ngulamung*,[88] the toredo worm, *kaula-wurak*, the queen fish, *tinimbu*,[89] the opossum, *marungo*, and the night-bird, *kunurak*.[90] The wild bees, *kamou*, are also associated with the Matamataui swamps. These totemic bees, when disturbed by a bush-fire, flew to Milingimbi to escape destruction.[91]

Plate 129A illustrates the body painting of a *jiritja* boy of the *mangilili-dalwongu mata*s of the Blue Mud Bay areas, the designs on the torso belonging to the *mangilili mata* (Fig. 64K) and those on the legs to the *dalwongu* (Fig. 64J). The central vertical panel represents a river at the totemic place of the water-lily, *jouku*, the U-shaped figure at the top being a large rock in the bed of that river. On the right-hand side of the abdomen is a fresh-water fish, *bittu*. The remainder of the paintings on the body are symbolical of either the blossoms or the leaves of the water-lily, *jouku*. The diamonds on the upper legs refer to hives of wild bees at the Matamataui swamps.[92]

The Man, Djunkgao, and his Sister, Madalait

The body designs[93] shown on Pl. 129B were painted on a *dua* boy of the *riredjingu mata* of Port Bradshaw (Fig. 64D). The three horizontal cross-hatched bands under the left armpit symbolize the waves of the sea which attracted *Djunkgao's* attention when he was beaching his canoe at Bilapinja Island.[94] The vertical panels immediately below are coastal sand-hills at Jelangbara, north of Port Bradshaw, and the long vertical panels on the right-hand side of the body are further parallel sand-hills which *Djunkgao* and his sister admired.[95] The horizontal bands across the left hip are the lines of sand which ran down the sides of a drifting sand-hill at Jelangbara, where the lizard, *tjunda*, walked along the crest.[96] The designs on the upper legs also indicate the sand running down the side of the same sand-hill.

Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land, 1954, p. 13.

87. Engraved pipe, Fig. 63A.
88. Engraved pipe, Fig. 62D.
89. Bark painting, Pl. 106C.
90. Bark-painting, Pl. 115E.
91. Bark painting, Pl. 93B.
92. Bark painting, Pl. 93B.
93. These and similar designs are used extensively in picturing the myth of *Djunkgao* and *Madalait* at Port Bradshaw.
94. Pl. 85D.
95. Pl. 86D.
96. Pl. 86B.

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PLATE 129. Body designs of initiates, Yirrkalla

A The water-lilies, jouku, and the fish, biltu
B Djunkgao and Madalait
C The bush-fire and the eucalyptus trees
D The geese, wurumatji

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

The aborigines told me that, prior to the visit of Mr and Mrs Berndt to Yirrkalla during 1947, they had not carved these small heads. But when they made one and showed it to Mr and Mrs Berndt, the interest shown stimulated them to make more.[23] These little examples of aboriginal craftsmanship, many showing evidence of considerable skill, prove the ability of the aboriginal craftsmen to adapt themselves to changing conditions.

Function. Elkin and the Berndts[24] state that the carved figures they illustrate of 'the Elder Wauwelak Sister, the Great Laintjung, and Laintjung's son Banaitja' are shown only to initiated men. They write: 'The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; outside, the postulants are sitting or standing with faces turned away, but when the songman begins to clap his sticks, they are led up to look upon the sacred object. Finally, when the singing is completed, the designs on the figure are explained and discussed. At times, during the showing of the object, the figure may be held ritually by an actor who writhes on the ground like the python who swallowed the Wauwelak sisters.'

During my last visit to Yirrkalla (1952) I questioned the aborigines about these statements. The men of both moieties were emphatic that they were incorrect and that the carved figures they had produced for Mr Berndt and me are purely secular and would not be used in any of the secret rituals.[25]

They explained, however, that pole figures (similar to the Chaseling figure) representing *Djunkgao* and his sister *Madalait* are kept in special huts near the ceremonial grounds where the *Djunkgao* ceremonies are being performed. The figure of *Djunkgao* is shown to all the initiated men, but that of *Madalait* to only a few of the older tribal leaders.

The pole figures of *Djunkgao* and *Madalait* are carved in hard wood, painted with the appropriate designs and decorated with *dua* ceremonial string. At the completion of the rituals the string is removed for future use and the posts, with other sacred objects, buried in the mud of a sacred waterhole.[26] The following year the same figures are taken out, re-painted and re-decorated. They usually last about three years.

The carved figures in my collection, *Tjambural*, *Laitjan*, or even the carved figures of *Djunkgao* and *Madalait*, would not have been used in any sacred ceremonies. They were produced because the native men enjoyed making them and because we were interested.

Methods of Manufacture. During the last war there was a large Air Force camp near Yirrkalla where, at one time or another, most of the able-bodied aborigines were employed. During that time the aborigines not only learned the

23. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), Pl. 9, illustrate a number of the carved heads collected by Mr and Mrs Berndt.

24. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 50.

25. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 58, state that the carved heads 'are shown to novices at initiation, and to postulants at ceremonies of revelation'.

26. Warner (1937), p. 356, describes how the sacred objects of the *dua moiety* ceremonies (analagous to those of *Djunkgao* at Yirrkalla) are buried in the mud of the sacred totemic waterhole.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

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The fact that designs *a* and *b* are similar in appearance and linked in the myths suggests that the two *matas* are closely associated.

c, a cross-hatched panel of the *lamuriri mata* of Cape Arnhem, represents a reef in the sea.

d, a cross-hatched panel between *c* and *e*, represents the open sea (locality unknown). It belongs to the *waku-unulmer mata*.

e, a cross-hatched panel belonging to the *malakun mata*, represents the salt-water side of a totemic place at Blue Mud Bay.

Designs *c*, *d* and *e* are not listed by any previous investigator, nor are they present on any of the bark paintings. This, coupled with the fact that the artist could not provide additional data about them, would suggest that the information is incomplete and should be accepted with reserve.

f, a series of lozenge-shaped designs, belongs to the *mangalili mata* of Blue Mud Bay.[49] It represents the flower, leaf and bulb of an unidentified water-lily, *jouku*.

g, almost identical to the *mangalili* design, belongs to the *wonguri mata* of Blue Mud Bay. It also represents the water-lily bulb, *jouku*.[50]

h, a line of lozenge-shaped designs on the left leg, belonging to the *madarlpa mata* of Blue Mud Bay, pictures the tuberlo worm, *milku*, at Blue Mud Bay.[51] The design of the *madarlpa mata* is similar to that used in the fire symbols in the bark painting of the bandicoot, Pl. 116B.

j, on the right leg, belongs to the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay and is associated with the myth of the crocodile, *baron*, the bird, *djiriku*, fire and paper-bark trees.[52]

k, the upper design on the back of *Laitjun*, belongs to an unidentified *mata*, *baijnijur*, near Milingimbi. It represents a hive of wild honey.

m, the lower design, belongs to *jerkurunga* (Warner's Yaerunngo) *mata* of the Wessel Islands.[53]

49. This design, bearing the same meaning, was used on the body painting of a *jiritja* youth who underwent circumcision at Yirrkalla (Pl. 129C). It is also engraved on a smoking pipe, Fig. 59C. Berndt (1948), p. 318, lists the design as *mangalilji*, meaning a log under water. Later, Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 23, correct this statement and list the *mangalilji* as a *mata* associated with the *laitjaltj* parrot. Warner does not mention this language group.

50. Warner (1937), p. 42, lists the *wonguri* language group, *mata*, as south of Caledon Bay, but his totems do not include the water-lily. Berndt (1948), p. 318, records that the *wonguri* design refers to the tuberlo worm, while later, with Elkin (1950), p. 23, they list *wonguri* as a *mata* design referring to a *laitjaltj* parrot.

51. Warner (1937), p. 49, lists the *murderpa* as a clan in the Blue Mud Bay area, not a language group. Its important high totems are crocodile and fire. Berndt (1948), p. 316, records that the *madarlpa* design refers to fire or ashes inside seaweed and mud. Later, in collaboration with Elkin (1950), p. 23, however, he lists it as the *murarlpa mata* which, they say, refers to the *wanka* bird.

52. This *gumaitj* design is used on a bark painting of the crocodile, Pl. 119B; of the bush fire and paper-bark trees, Pl. 93B; on the engraved pipe of the crocodile, Fig. 59C; and on a body painting, Pl. 129C. Warner (1937), p. 42, lists the *kumaitj* (*gumaitj*) *mata* of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem. This is no doubt a section of the Caledon Bay *mata*. Berndt (1948), p. 316, records *gumaitj* designs, some of which relate to fire and honey, and the others to paper bark. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 23, alter this and state that the *gumaitj mata* means the east wind.

53. Warner (1937), p. 47, records the totems of the *yorrunngo mata*. I did not gather any information on the subject.

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however, the people to whom Laintjung had given his sacred designs and *rangga* were sorry for what they had done, and made the "likeness" of Banaitja in paperbark bound on a framework of cane. The influence of Laintjung and Banaitja, in spite of their importance, did not cover such a wide area as that of some other Ancestral Beings; and the aborigines account for this by explaining that Banaitja "was killed at an early age, before he had the opportunity of travelling widely throughout this region".

Most of the great religious myths of this region are associated with the *dua* moiety, the more conservative section; it is the *jiritja* which embraces new and "alien" ideas and activities. From time to time, fully-initiated *dua* and *jiritja* men are shown the "high" *rangga*, and through the years they become increasingly familiar with the complex ritual. This admission to sacred knowledge, however, is not thought comparable to an initiation or age-grading ceremony: it is more in the nature of a revelation through which they become acquainted with the inner substance of religious thought and expression. The *dua* Wauwalak myth, on the other hand, is of general importance, and is associated with the three sacred "age-grading" ceremonies of this north-eastern region. There is also much sacred ritual not concerned with age-grading. Both *dua* and *jiritja* men take part in this, and it incorporates some purely *jiritja* songs belonging to separate cycles.

The two Wauwalak sisters are associated with the concept of fertility, owing mainly to their connection with birth, after-birth blood, and menstruation. The latter receives a great deal of attention in Yirrkalla thought. Aboriginal women are all potential Wauwalaks; and a great deal of their behaviour, particularly at puberty, and when menstruation ceases at pregnancy, is said to be based on that of the Two Sisters. The Wauwalak myth is most important to these north-eastern Arnhem Landers, and they make frequent references to it. It has, as mentioned, far more general application than have the Djanggawul and Laintjung cycles; and the three separate ceremonies which concern it here are each of a different nature. The commonest is the *djunggawon*, used primarily for initiation; ideally, it extends over a couple of months, and includes, in addition to circumcision and camp dancing, a certain amount of ritual which is not fully revealed, as in the case of the Djanggawul. The second of these three ceremonies is the *kunapipi*, which will be dealt with in the following chapters. The third is the *ngu:rlmak* ceremony, performed to-day only at rare intervals. It is considered to be far more important than either the *djunggawon* or the *kunapipi*, but less so than the Djanggawul and Laintjung *dua* and *jiritja nara* rituals.

There are also a number of subsidiary ceremonies, related in some degree to these two main cycles, but not by any means so outstanding.

796 The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates [203] (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading [561] ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

796 In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and 778 the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a ceremonial ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place; this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of [534] using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer, its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and [533] anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in 796 the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men 533 sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are 535 called *gudambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred *garma* (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end, the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs with their rapid rhythm.

Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bull- 796 roarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is [534] heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, followed by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritja* snakes.

796 Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young 881 boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate). [302] The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

[778] 4. The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *nunggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

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as far as the women in the main camp are officially concerned, are "swallowed by the Snake". Theoretically, they are not supposed to return to the society of women until they are re-born at the end of the Kunapipi. Old men "chase the Snake back" into the sacred ground, where it swallows the initiates; thus they avert the disaster of the whole main camp's being swallowed by Julunggul. This part of the ritual reveals a propitiatory aspect; the initiates "are given" to the Julunggul in order to save the rest of the camp.

Later that night the men return, having left the boys in the protection of their guardians; they tell the women (particularly the initiates' mothers, mothers' sisters and mothers' mothers), "All the young boys have gone to-day; Julunggul has swallowed them up". And the women wail, singing the clan songs of the initiates, as if they were dead. In practice, the women do wail, as they do in the *djunggawon* when the boys are taken out to the sacred ground by the men; but in theory it is said that "the women don't cry, for they might become sick", since Julunggul might be antagonized, thinking the women objected to her methods. "She might return and swallow them too".

On the two following nights, the same events take place: Julunggul comes towards the camp, her voice is heard, and more young initiates are taken out. This continue until all the initiates are collected on the sacred ground; and a sequence of totemic dancing takes place, "teaching" the young boys. Some of this dancing takes place before dawn; intermittent singing and acting continue all night, while the women return the calls of the men from the main camp, or cry out when they hear the hum of the bullroarer. The cry of the women is the cry of the Wauwalak when they saw Julunggul; and when they dance, their dancing is similar to that of the Wauwalak, trying to stop the progress of the Snake. The *jiritja* snake men dance to represent the snakes who watched Julunggul swallowing the Wauwalak. The totemic animals, birds and vegetables that are sung and danced at morning and evening rituals are those seen by the Wauwalak, or collected by them for food. These, it will be remembered, became *mareiin*, sacred, when they left the Wauwalak and joined their ceremonial leader, Julunggul, in Muruwul well.

A little later the men, who have spent part of the evening on the sacred ground, leave this place, and dance with lighted paperbark torches towards the main camp. On their way they meet the women, crouched under conically shaped mats, termed *ngainmara*.[5] Two old women walk up and down, calling out the names of foods which at

5. The *ngainmara*, made of plaited pandanus, is now rarely seen in native camps of this region, having been superseded by blankets. It was once (as mentioned in Chapter I *c*) an important part of a woman's equipment, used for providing shade, for a protection against mosquitoes and sandflies, and for a temporary shelter for a menstruating girl. Symbolically, it represented the uterus, and this aspect is treated in detail in the Djanggawul cycle. (*Vide* R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication).

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796 this time are forbidden to women, and relating all the incidents that directly refer to the Wauwalak, for example, the pregnancy of the elder sister, the flow of afterbirth blood, and the menstruation of the young girl.

The *jiritja* snakes call out, and are answered by the women; and nearby the bullroarer is twirled again. Then the dancing men file around the *ngainmara*-covered women, the leader beating his sticks and singing; the young boys are present. The women have brought presents of food, which are handed over to the *jiritja* snakes and their companions.

The dancing men symbolize Julunggul surrounding the women (the Wauwalak in their *murlk*); but these are not swallowed, because none are menstruating or have after-birth blood. "The men dancing around are smelling, but they smell no odour of blood."

796 574 About this time, visitors from surrounding territories reach the Kunapipi camp; and the foregoing rituals, that serve as introduction to the ceremony as a whole, are completed. Some of them, however, are repeated, both at the sacred ground and at the main camp; important features are the men's dancing around the *ngainmara*-[431] covered women, and the giving of presents, which are taken back to the ceremonial ground and offered first to Julunggul (for his swallowing) before being eaten.

796 536 On the sacred ground the *jiritja* men dig a large hole (*nanggaru* or *nonggaru*, billabong) representing Muruwul; all the animals, birds, and vegetables, in the guise of totemic actors, climb into it and dance, just as did those which "ran away" from the Wauwalak. Two other holes are dug, and in each hole squats a man; one, covered with paperbark, represents the female child of the elder sister, while another actor squats outside the hole as the mother. In the second hole is the younger sister, who is menstruating. The "child" in the hole cries, and the "mother" moves around it; then both the "sisters" leave their positions and dance like the Wauwalak. A number of these totemic animals and so on, particularly the opossum, form pairs (male and female) and enter the *nanggaru* (Muruwul), where they simulate coitus.

[831] A number of actors, representing opossums, dance forward around the *nanggaru*; the males have long erect bark penes protruding from their hair-belts. They enact the copulation of these animals.

● [881] All these dances are accompanied by singing and beating of sticks, and the young boys going through this ceremony are shown each one and told its significance. On the conclusion of the dancing, every morning and evening, *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukalilji* (*jiritja*), depending on the singing, are called by the leader. Men crouch together while the *bukali* "power" names are called in reference to the totemic beings, and at intervals they shout. [These "power" names, being sacred terms (although there are secular power names too) are in the manner

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On the same evening, the young boys "passing through" the Kunapipi are placed on the heaped-up earth beside the *ba'uma* (*kanala*), and a shallow trench, some fifty feet long, is extended from one end. The *jelmalandji* have not yet been brought out. Various groups of men, representing mainly opossums, dance down this trench towards the boys. The initiates are moved to the shallow trench, and the men dance along it into the *ba'uma*. Then the boys are moved and placed in the *ba'uma* itself: this is the core of their Kunapipi experience. They are covered with bark and told to go to sleep; and as they lie there, "covered up in the hut like the Wauwalak Sisters", men dance the yam, opossum, wild honey, rat, wallaby, iguana, native companion and kangaroo - all those animals, birds, reptiles and vegetables which the Wauwalak attempted to cook. They dance down the shallow trench and almost on to the boys.

Then, suddenly, the bark that covers the boys is removed: they are dazed, as if from sleep. The older Kunapipi leaders step forward and, taking sweat from under their armpits, rub the palms of their hands across the eyes of the boys. They tell them to look up: "See, the Julunggul are emerging from the waters!"

"Which way?" they ask.

As they look they see the two Snakes standing beside the *ba'uma*, each supported by one man: these are the two *jelmalandji*, one the Julunggul and the other the "palm" tree. The boys are "very surprised", asking "What's this? Where did they come from?"

"They are the *jelmalandji*", reply the old leaders. And the two *dua* men holding the *jelmalandji* begin to shake them, "making the Snakes dance".

"Ah! ah!" The boys keep staring up at the great towering *jelmalandji*.

Then the men dance a series of totemic dances, similar to those mentioned above, before the *jelmalandji* and the boys.

These are followed by the spectacular "pokiti" head-dress dance, performed by two of the older men. They wear tall, conically shaped head-dresses, built up on top of the head from a basis of grass or bark pads, bound tightly with human-hair twine so that they taper to a point; this in turn is decorated with arm blood upon which down has been stuck to form the Snake design, and cockatoo or native companion feathers are attached to the apex. The word "pokiti" is pidgin English; the real "outside" secular name (widely known) is *kundja*, and the "inside" sacred name *milali*; when the two old men dance together they are called *jalwaru-* (or *jalwul*) *milali*. The actors are decorated with birds' down, and bunches of leaves are attached to their upper arms.

The "pokiti" itself represents the short pandanus or screw palm, seen by the Wauwalak, growing in the swamp at Muruwul: the movement of the head-dress in the dance signifies the pandanus

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moving up and down with the swell of the water. The two actors dance towards the *jelmalandji* and the boys, holding carved wands that represent the pandanus shoots. They move forward slowly, their "pokiti" slightly waving, like the pandanus gently swaying in the calm swirl of the "spring" waters. When their actions are quickened their heads shake violently, and this is the pandanus rustling and bending in the strong "spring" waters[7] resulting from the rains sent by Julunggul. The feathers at their apex are the snakes' heads, appearing between the pandanus clumps.

When they reach the *ba'uma* both actors kneel and are surrounded by the singing and stick-beating leader and other participants. They shake their "pokiti" until these become loose, and the leader knocks them off and rubs himself against the actors (that is, he is spiritually one with the totemic dancers). The young boys, and others who are not fully conversant with Kunapipi ritual, as well as visitors, are rubbed against the "pokiti" or against the decorated down on the actors' bodies; this contact transfers "power" (or the sacred essence of the Dreaming) from one to the other. Then the sacred *bukali* "power" (invocation) names are called over the actors, while they shake themselves, to the accompaniment of the beating sticks. Other dances follow, most of which concern the things seen by the Wauwalak at Muruwul.

Next comes the *djamala marciin*, or ritual fire-throwing. The term *djamala* serves as an important link in all Kunapipi rituals, here and elsewhere, for although it has lost its real significance at Yirrkalla it still includes the throwing of fire-brands. In central-western Northern Territory, for example, Kunapipi ritual is divided into morning (day) and evening (night) ceremonies, the former termed *wilbibi* and the latter *djamalara* (*djamala* being a variation).[8]

In the Yirrkalla version of the Kunapipi, the throwing of fire-sticks by older men across the sacred ground, and over the *ba'uma* in which the boys sit, symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul; the Snake flashes the lightning over the camp in which the Sisters are resting.

Then two actors dance forward, representing the Wauwalak Sisters; one has a paperbark pad which is the "child". From one side of the ground another actor appears; he is the Julunggul Snake, and moves slowly forward towards the "women", until he reaches

7. These strong waters are called secularly *ka'leia*, or in sacred speech *gumunggaul*: the latter word is a corruption of the term *gumugu*, which is of very general use in the central-western Northern Territory Kunapipi. For a further definition see Chapters X and XI.

8. For a further example of the widespread use of this word, see R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section X. In that area it has been corrupted to *djamu:lak* or *jamalak*, and refers to a secularized promiscuous ceremony. Real *djamalara* singing includes some of the most beautiful sacred rhythms in Aboriginal Australia.

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the mound piled beside the *ba'uma*. When the Wauwalak actors see the Snake, they act as if "they are shamed", here termed *g(w)o:ra'nganbinganbi*. They are "shamed" because they have the child, and their blood is running.[9]

When this dance is over, two *dua* men bring out a pole from the darkness of the bush beside the sacred ground, and hold it horizontally, waist-high from the ground, on the concave side of the *ba'uma*. Within the crescent trench lie the young boys, and on the opposite (the convex, though sometimes on the concave) side of the *ba'uma* the *jelmalandji* stand, held by two men. Then, to the ritual crying of all participants, the *jelmalandji* are pushed over so that they hit the pole and tumble to the ground. They are picked up, and pushed over again; this is repeated several times, until the feathered ornaments on top of the *jelmalandji* fall off. The Julunggul are falling over, after swallowing the Wauwalak.

Then the young boys are removed from the *ba'uma* and placed on the mound beside it, while the *jelmalandji* are put in their place. Fire-sticks are thrown into the *ba'uma*, to burn the grass and paperbark surrounding the central poles of the *jelmalandji*. At the same time men open their arm veins, sprinkling blood on one another and into the trench; this is the blood of the Wauwalak, and blood itself symbolizes life. Rows of dancing men come down the sacred ground and along the shallow trench, to and around the *ba'uma*, pushing the mound into the trench and gradually filling the hole, until the earth from dancing feet covers the *jelmalandji*, and the ground is flattened "so that no one will see that trench".

This completes the main section of the Kunapipi: the sequence of these rituals may be changed according to the inclination of the totemic leaders, or some may be omitted.

* * * *

This is followed by two concluding features: the ceremonial exchange of wives, and the return of the young boys into secular camp life. The latter always takes place at Yirrkalla; but local aborigines say that the former is less common, and it does not seem to be well integrated with indigenous social behaviour. Mission pressure has been brought to bear, in recent years, on the performance of the Kunapipi, and especially on ceremonial intercourse; but it is still practised at Millngimbi and Rose River, and away from white supervision on the settlements.

In other parts of the Territory where Kunapipi holds sway, and where "Big Sunday" is an integral part of native religious life, ceremonial copulation brings these rituals to a climax. It represents a

9. The word "shame" signifies "shyness", the normal feeling a menstruating woman feels towards a man who observes her blood. The European cultural connotation is lacking in this pidgin translation of the native term.

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796 835 begins with surreptitious meetings at night in the nearby bush. There may be more men than women attending the ceremony, and it may so happen that one woman will have a number of Kunapipi partners to whom she will go. Her husband realizes that this period is charged with social effervescence, so that her indulgence is viewed as a conventional expression, and as an important element in the atmosphere of general goodwill. Some women, however, prefer to wait until the last night, being emotionally excited, then, to an abnormal degree. Prior to this final stage, there is general exchange [832] of obscenities and erotic allusions between men and women, and between the proposed Kunapipi partners.

796 535 786 [301] Two or three nights before the finale the men return to the sacred ground, and sitting around the fires begin to sing parts of the Kunapipi cycle relating to ceremonial copulation. The women come into the ground, some decorated with feathered string headbands. All women may attend, but only those decorated and ochred are "to dance for coitus". Their special form of dancing is called *ngamamali*; they dance before the singing men. They dance the bandicoot dance, hitting their legs together to make a rhythmic sound that blends with the song and the beating sticks.

Then the head Kunapipi woman, a tribal sister or father's sister of the male leader, dances forward, leading the other women[12] back towards the main camp. As they dance along they call out, in just the same way as the men in the *djunggawon* do when they enter the main camp. And like those men, the women too symbolize Julunggul moving towards the Wauwalak. Instead of calling it Julunggul or *gundaru* as the men do, the women call it Kitjin. "But it is the same Dreaming Snake, even though it is called by a different name: for the women call it Kitjin so that we (the men) won't know the real meaning." They turn away again from the main camp and return to the sacred ground, calling out their sacred term, Kitjin! Kitjin! and warning the men: "Don't call this name, or watch us;[13] don't come [778] close and see us, or your bellies will come up like pregnant women". And the men sit down quietly, with heads bent, for they may not look directly at the dancing women: the women are *mareiin* (sacred), just like the dancers in a totemic ceremony.

12. It is said that all these women are "big women", and none are young girls. No young boys are present, for the initiates are at one end of the ground "asleep", or covered up with paperbark or blankets; children are left in charge of the old women or young girls who have remained in the main camp.

This really means that the women attending the Kunapipi are married; the young girls are those who are unmarried, betrothed, or who have not yet [881] reached puberty. We are not discussing in this context ritual defloration of [836] young girls, as an adjunct of the Kunapipi, just prior to or on their attaining puberty.

13. That is, the men cannot look straight at the dancing women, "we are frightened of the power they have". Actually, however, they do see them dancing forward.

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of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796
Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recog- 786
nized as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area. 837

A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank attitude towards the question of sexual relations, and their understanding of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predetermines their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the pre-[832] coitus dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner [753] will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness.

The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with [773] clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this ceremonial copulation.[15] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the [789] symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of "danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one [835] another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother. The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to "raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the *ngu:rlmak*, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung rituals.

* * * *

On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796
Kunapipi ceremonies is performed. 881
Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 778
ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over one another from their mouths; and most have spears. They begin [802] to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture, and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's [535] dancing continues till sunrise, when the two moiety groups dance [646] down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main camp, taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompaniment of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

15. *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

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796 ●881 778 *djepalmandji* (this is a central-western Northern Territory term; the variations used at Yirrkalla are *djapalmani* or *djapanban*). Two forked posts are placed upright in the ground about six feet apart, and a thick connecting ridge pole, about four feet from the ground, placed between them, resting on the forks. This pole is hung with branches, so that the space between it and the ground is thickly covered.

Two *jiritja* snake men (mentioned before) climb on to the forked posts; each takes up his position, sitting within the fork, facing the other. The young initiates are then placed under the bushes of the *djepalmandji*, so that they are completely covered and hidden from outside view; they hold on to the ridge pole with their hands, their feet on the ground, for they are supposed to be hanging from the pole. The two *jiritja* men then begin to call out in the ritual manner known as *djangatun'jiritjiana*, moving the palms of their hands against their mouths; they are calling out for all the men and women to come to the *djepalmandji*.

The *djepalmandji* forked sticks signify not only the Kunapipi but the sacred *ngu:rlmak*, for they represent the *murlk* hut built by the Wauwalak; the initiates are put inside, like the Two Sisters. But they have also another important meaning. The two *jiritja* men (*jiritja* totemic snakes) who sit in the forks "are really the babies (although only one baby is mentioned in the Wauwalak myth)[16] of the Wauwalak". They sit in the fork, which symbolizes the uterus of the Wauwalak, and cry ritually in the same way that a child cries when issuing at birth from its mother's womb. This is one of the most important points in this terminating series of rituals; for here, symbolically expressed, is the enactment of childbirth, a crystallization of Kunapipi intent. The meaning is the same as that of the *djepalmandji* forked stick of central-western Northern Territory, which is there described as the Mother's uterus, in which a "baby" rests.

Under the cover of branches and brush, below the *djepalmandji*, are the young initiates who have passed through all the main Kunapipi ceremonies; they lie passive in the uterus (or uteri) of the Wauwalak. Soon they will be coming out, and will be spiritually re-born (that is, "their spirit comes out new"), just as the Wauwalak child was born.

The cries of the two *jiritja* men in the forks of the *djepalmandji* have summoned the women in the camp, and they make ready to come towards the place where the young boys are hidden. Behind them, within the shelter of the surrounding bush, the bullroarers are swung, "pushing along" the women and children: they are smeared

16. That is, each man represents the child of the elder Wauwalak sister. L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 251, mentioned in his Milingimbi version of the same myth that each sister had a child. It will be remembered that this feature did not appear in the Yirrkalla version.

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with red ochre, and dance along in the same way as did the Wauwalak sisters. They reach and surround the *djepalmandji*, calling in answer to the sound of the bullroarers; all the male dancers are hidden about forty yards away in the bush. The women then leave the *djepalmandji* and sit in a bunch some few yards distant. The sound of the bullroarers continues, and the two *jiritja* men in the forked sticks cry out. All the women and children lie down, and are covered with *barakala* bark and *ngainmara* mats. When they have all settled down, the Kunapipi headman calls out for the male dancers, who enter the ground dancing in single file and calling out *wa ! wa ! wa !* This is the call of the *dua matju* flying fox; it is used theoretically to "trick" the women into thinking that something else is meant, "but really the cry belongs to the two Wauwalak sisters; for they cried out *kei'wa ! kei'wa ! kei'wa !* when they were frightened of Julunggul coming towards their camp". That is to say, the cry *kei'wa !* is used only by women, and men cannot use it. As one informant said, "we can't yell out like women, or we might have to change our business (sacred ritual) for women's business, and they would take over ours. So we make ourselves flying fox, and then change the cry to *wa !* bnt all the same it is the Two Sisters crying out".

"What side is this?" the women are said to wonder, covered with their *ngainmara*: "Flying fox side?" "But," the men continue, "they can't get the meaning of what we do." (This, of course, is a peculiarly male attitude.)

The same men add, "But really we have been stealing what belongs to them (the women), for it is mostly all woman's business; and since it concerns them it belongs to them. Men have nothing to do really, except copulate, it belongs to the women. All that belonging to those Wauwalak, the baby, the blood, the yelling, their dancing, all that concerns the women; but every time we have to trick them. Women can't see what men are doing, although it really is their own business, but we can see their side. This is because all the Dreaming business came out of women—everything; only men take 'picture' for that Juluŋggul. In the beginning we had nothing, because men had been doing nothing; we took these things from the women". This latter is a particularly interesting statement, reiterated in the Djanggawul Myth cycle, which stresses peculiarly female attainments: the power of reproduction, and the phenomenon of menstruation.

The dancing men run forward, cry out, and run forward again until they reach the *djepalmandji*; then they surround it, and the covered women and children. The two *jiritja* men in the forks cry out "like that Wauwalak child, to awaken the two sisters in their hut" (that is, the cry is supposed to awaken the women who are covered with the *ngainmara*). The men all carry spears and dance around the women, prodding them lightly with the shafts, so that they "awaken" and sit up, and look towards the *djepalmandji*. They

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796 see the young initiates coming out of the bushes, emerging from the uterus, all covered with red-ochre that symbolizes "the spring blood 881 of the Wauwalak". And the men call out to the women saying, "See 778 those young men covered with the saliva of that Snake"; "but really," and the women are not officially supposed to know this, "they are covered with the spring blood". The women begin to call out, and return dancing to the main camp.

The *djepalmandji* are knocked down, and the young boys are taken to the men's camp. That night, "outside" Kunapipi songs are sung, and the men dance around the boys. Then with the men leading, and the initiates following, they all dance off in single file to the sacred ground.

Here the initiates' headbands are removed, and returned to the Kunapipi leader for use in the next rituals. After some sacred singing, all the men, together with the young boys, paint themselves [302] completely with red-ochre; at the same time, in the main camp, all the other men, women and children, whether *dua* or *jiritja*, do likewise. On everyone's back is outlined the Julunggul Snake, "so that [532] you can't see it". (The snake design is merged with the general red-ochring, so that only a bare outline is visible.) This design is sometimes extended across the chest or breasts, from left to right, to join the main snake pattern on the back; "in the beginning those Wauwalak did this, because of that big Julunggul". This painting is termed the "baptizing" (that is, ceremonial purification), and all are brushed with smoking ironwood branches which have been held in the fire.

The men return from the sacred ground to the main camp, and sitting in groups begin to sing the "outside" Kunapipi, while the women dance in the same way as they did during the first rituals. The young initiates return that evening to the single men's camp. The purification ceremony and singing may be held on succeeding evenings for about a week to a fortnight, when it is felt that sufficient precautions have been taken to prevent sickness.

This concludes the Yirrkalla Kunapipi ritual.

* * * * *

773 Although we shall return in succeeding chapters to the ritual and 796 interpretation of the Kunapipi, it may be as well, at this juncture, to 794 survey briefly the foregoing material. It is apparent that Kunapipi ritual has been closely related to the Wauwalak mythology; this [805] expresses symbolically the aborigines' conception of an "eternal" sequence of the seasons, and the reproductive faculties of Nature, of which man is an incidental but dominating feature. This fundamental [776] belief is crystallized in a Fertility Mother (the Wauwalak as a transmutation of the Djangguwul) who embodies this concept, while the male representative of fructification also is present.

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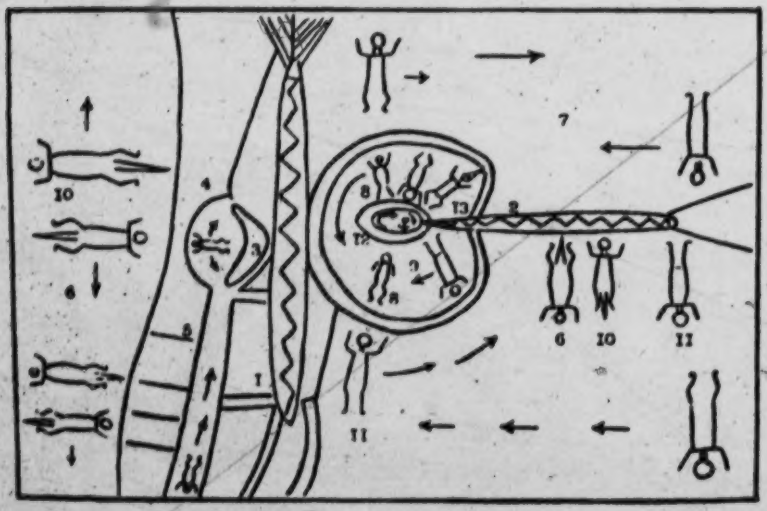
532 796 aborigines belonging to the culture from which the ritual has sprung or in which it finds expression, reveal a depth of feeling and understanding which cannot be reconstructed through any other medium. Photographs, with all their accurate detail, cannot record the ritual with the same wealth of meaning as that contained in a native's drawing of this kind: and their anthropological value must not be underestimated. Observational recording through photography is valuable and necessary, but it lacks the ability of indigenous drawing to make its subject matter personal, vivid and sympathetic.

To describe in some detail each drawing illustrated here, rough sketches have been reproduced; the main outline of each corresponds to the original, so that the numbered sections may readily be traced in sequence, from text to rough sketch and so to reproduction of the original drawing illustrated. This was considered preferable to numbering the various parts of the original drawings.



Text Figure 2.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XI.
Postulants and novices in a ritual performance on the sacred Kunapipi ground.

532 796 881 The first drawing,[3] illustrated in Plate XI and text figure 2, in red, black, green, blue and yellow crayon, white chalk and pencil, presents postulants and novices in a ritual performance on the sacred Kunapipi ground. 1 is the *durlpa* snake *jelmalandji* emblem, which is sometimes said to be both the Julunggul python and the pandanus tree; 2 is the *gundaru* Lighting Snake *jelmalandji*, which is the

3. Reference: No. 1, Series B, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series A, R. Berndt.

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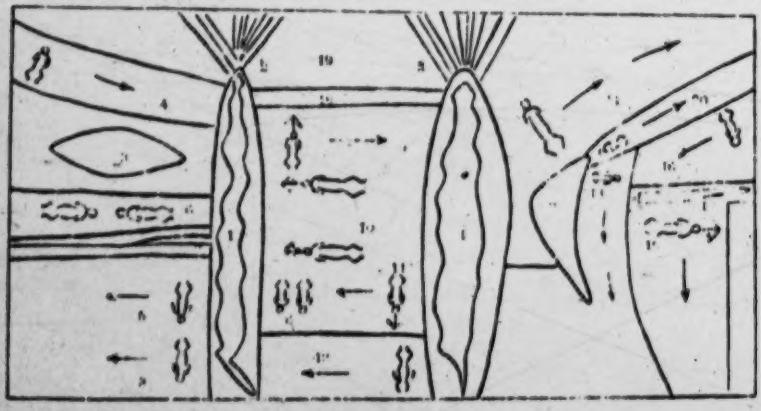
Julunggul; both are topped with feathered ornaments. The *gundaru* *jelmalandji* arises from the *nanggaru* place (9), while the *darlpa* *jelmalandji* arises some little distance away, between the *nanggaru* and the *kanala* (3): in actual practice, both would stand together beside either the *nanggaru* or the *kanala*. On the concave side of the *kanala* (3) are ranged *jiritja* moiety *wari* novices (4) for the Kunapipi, while along the track leading to the *kanala* are *muru dua* moiety novices (5): they do not yet enter the crescent trench. 532 796 881

Parallel to the *kanala*, and to one side of the *nanggaru*, are *dua* dancing postulants (6) representing opossums. This is the important Kunapipi opossum dancing; men with long paperbark penes (10) attached to their waist-bands, or constructed upon their own penes, are male opossums; the others are the females (11). In the dancing they simulate sexual intercourse, erecting their bark penes, and so on.

On the opposite side of the *nanggaru* are *jiritja* moiety *keiango:r* men (7) who watch the erecting of the *jelmalandji*. This is the group that prepared these emblems for the *dua* moiety (6). [616]

Within the *nanggaru* (9), the opossum actors (6) are seen dancing, having gradually moved up along the sacred ground and entered the "billabong" (12). Then they emerge from the *nanggaru* and encircle it (8); they begin to cover it in with their dancing feet, destroying it completely. One dancing opossum actor (13) wears a conical-shaped head-dress topped with feathers, as should all the other participants. [292]

The second drawing,[4] Plate I and text figure 3, in red, blue,



Text Figure 3.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate I.

Opossum dancing on the sacred ground, with destruction of the Snake Emblems.

4. Reference: No. 109, *Field Notes*, Book 18, Series A, R. Berndt.

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[facing p. 64] PLATE VI
[For caption see category 116, p. xi]

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yellow, black and green crayon, concerns the final opossum dancing, and the destroying of the *jelmalandji* emblems.

One *jelmalandji* (1 *a*) is the *gundaru*, and the other (1 *b*) the *darlpa*, each topped with feathers. The non-sacred term for the *gundaru jelmalandji* is *nungganambi*, and for the *darlpa jelmalandji*, *murungun* or *dalara*, both of which may be used before women and children in the main camp: to use the term *jelmalandji* in a secular environment would bring sickness on the speaker. To the right of the *gundaru* is the *kanala* (2) crescent trench; to the left of the *darlpa* is the *nanggaru*, (3), and on one side of this a row of *wari jiritja* novices (4) make their appearance, wearing *marapipi* headbands: they watch two actors (6) on the opposite side of the *nanggaru*, performing the *dua* moiety *gundaru* snake dance (of the male and female Julunggul Snakes). While the two actors dance, the *jiritja* bullroarer (7) is swung behind them; below it are the *muru dua* novices (5); and below these, in a line, are the "big" men (8) who act as guardians to the novices, and take them to the Kunapipi dancing. These guardians are very strict, and may beat the novices in their charge should they misbehave.

Between the two *jelmalandji* is a row of dancing postulants (9), representing the *gulwiri* "cabbage" or "wild coconut" palm, which swayed in the running waters at Muruwul (*vide* Chapter III). The actors wear elaborate head-dresses that symbolize this tree, and later they dance towards the *murlk* hut (19) of the two Wauwaluk sisters. Opposite this row of dancers is another row (11), also representing the *gulwiri* palm. Between them (10) lie two other *gulwiri* dancers performing a ritual dance: they enter the ground kneeling, and lie upon one another "like the roots and trunks of these trees", entwined and rubbing together with the force of the running water. These two central actors, as well as the others, are watched by the *wari* and *muru* novices, who have been brought up to take another position facing the dancing ground. Two novices (6) are beside the *gulwiri* actors (11), while the others are ranged in a row below (12).

Above the track leading to the *kanala* (2) and on its concave side are ranged *muru* and *wari* novices (13), taking their positions for viewing the final opossum dancing and the *jelmalandji*. To one side (14) are their guardians; the novices (16) below the *kanala* track are standing with their hands tucked under their arms.

On the concave side of the *kanala*, beyond the novices (13), is a row of dancing men performing the *gunga* pandanus dance, with head-dresses similar to those used in the *gulwiri*. When this is completed, other neophytes begin to dance down the *kanala* track (20): they are opossums, and this track is also called the "opossum track".

The *jelmalandji* are pushed and fall over across the *kanala*; but they are caught with the stick (18), and impelled back, so that they

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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PLATE VII

[Facing p. 65]

[For captions see category 116, p. xi]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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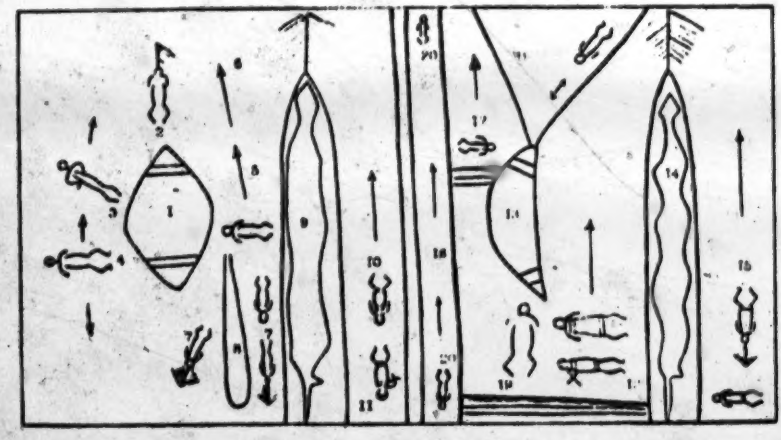
stand upright. This enacts the part of the myth relating how the Julunggul fall backwards because they have swallowed the Wauwalak (*vide* Chapter III): each time they fall, the postulants cry out. "The Wauwalak make them fall, but they are strong and erect themselves again." Finally, however, they fall back into the *kanala*. This is not yet the final ceremony, so the *jelmalandji* are taken by two *jiritja* men and hidden for use in subsequent ritual. Normally, the pushing over of the *jelmalandji* should be followed by the fire-throwing ritual and their subsequent burning: after this the opossum dancers (20) should dance around the *kanala*, filling it in with the action of their feet, destroying the encircling mound, and thus covering the *jelmalandji*.

As the neophytes and novices leave the *kanala* the bullroarer (17) is swung, with answering calls from the main camp.

The third drawing,[5] Plate XII and text figure 4, in red, yellow, green, blue, black and white crayon, repeats some of the above and continues the ceremony to its final stage; but some essential ritual is omitted here (such as ceremonial coitus, which is dealt with separately).



Text Figure 4.

Key Sketch to Illustrate Plate XII.

Sacred dancing on the Kunapipi ground.

On the left of the drawing is the *nanggaru* (1): above (2), is the *dua mo:gol* Ka'lerika'lering (*vide* Chapter IV *et seq.*) wearing a

5. Reference: No. 134, *Field-Notes*, Book 19, Series B, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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conical head-dress, called *watamunu* or *dutji*, topped with feathers. He is dancing for the spirits of the Wauwalak who have been swallowed by Julunggul. Although the artist has projected this mythological Being on to the sacred ground, this represents really a *dua* neophyte taking the part of this Spirit in the Kunapipi dancing. On one side of this actor are two men (3) who are also Ka'lerika'lering; one has a boomerang, and both shake green branches as they dance.

Below the Ka'lerika'lering, on one side of the *nanggaru*, are the *wari* novices (4); while the *muru* novices (5) are on the opposite side. Above them are the *kakawar jiritja* postulants (6); these are older youths and men, visiting strangers from various clans, who have not yet seen the Kunapipi and are being admitted as "advanced novices".

On one side of the *darlpa* (or *dalara*) *jelmalandji* (9), are men (7) performing the pandanus dance, which is shown for the first time to the *wari*, *muru* and *kakawar*. As they dance, the bullroarer (8) is swung.

The *kakawar* (6) now move over to the opposite side of the *jelmalandji* (9) and form a row (10) under the direction of a headman (11), who rhythmically beats his sticks. The row of men move anticlockwise, in a form of dancing called *wokwaijin*, around the *kanala* (13); the same men, with their leader (12), are again seen on the concave side of the *kanala*, before their entry into the crescent trench.

Opposite the *kanala* is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (14), with a row of men (15) performing the "cabbage" palm dancing. On the convex side of the *kanala* are the novices (17) observing the ritual dancing, while opossum men (18) dance down the track leading to the *kanala*, in order to encircle it and cover it up. Below the *kanala* is a postulant (19) performing the final dance on the sacred ground, before leaving for the fringe of the main camp. He represents the Blue-tongued Lizard (*djamalingu* or *gumaling*), and dances by himself.

The artist then depicts, in the centre of his drawing, a row of novices (4, 5, and 6) who are under the "shade" or branches of the *djepalmandji* (16); at each end, in the forked sticks, sit the *jiritja* guardians (20) calling out. This takes place on the fringe of the main camp, away from the sacred ground, and shows the novices getting ready just before the women arrive.

The fourth drawing,[6] Plate XVII and text figure 5, in green, red, black, thick pencil sketches of human figures, on a yellow back-

6. Reference: No. 2, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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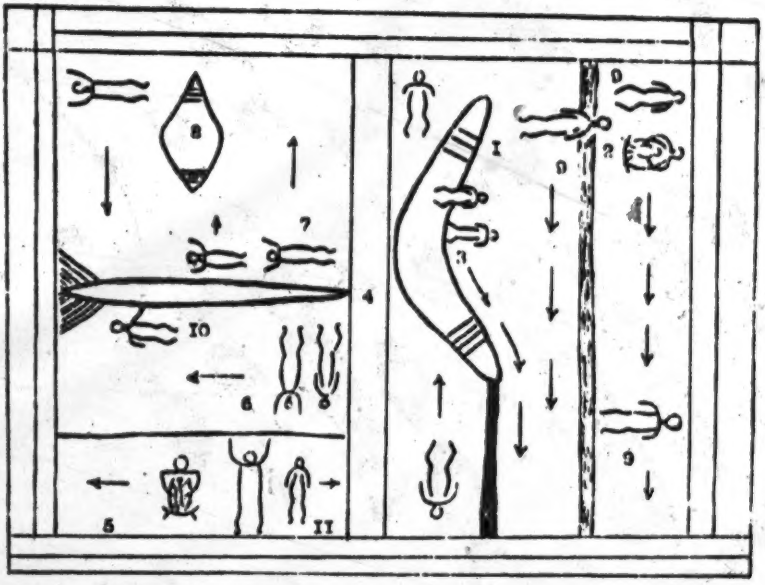
ground, is principally concerned with ceremonial intercourse, an integral part of the Kunapipi, taking place on the sacred ground. 532 796 881



Text Figure 5.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XVII.
Ceremonial intercourse on the sacred ground.

On the right hand side of this drawing is the *jilparindji* or *kalawal* boomerang (1); it occupies the place of the *kanala* in the drawing and is drawn in much the same way. (This particular aspect requires further attention, but cannot be elaborated here.) It is this boomerang (usually designed a little differently, with a groove at the centre) which is used in ritual defloration on the Kunapipi ground, before ceremonial coitus. That is to say, young girls have their hymens pierced prior to intercourse on the ceremonial ground; others, whose hymens have already been broken through normal premarital coitus, have the end of the boomerang placed symbolically in the vagina. In the Rose River region, this form of defloration is a counterpart of the subincision rite, and neither takes place in the north-eastern part of Arnhem Land. In the long *jiritja* Rose River Love Song cycle, known at Yirrkalla, defloration and ritual copula- 532 796 881 833 [304] [836] [171]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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tion are discussed in detail: this aspect will, however, be dealt with later.[7]

Here we are concerned principally with sexual intercourse on the sacred ground, and defloration is incidental; but it does have an important bearing on Kunapipi mythology. (*Vide* Chapter X, Song 45, when it is mentioned that the Mungamunga were "opened" for coitus; the ritual in the Rose River Kunapipi commemorates this mythological event, while other examples could be taken from Yirrkalla mythology to substantiate this rite of defloration.)

On the far right hand side of the drawing are male *gurung* having coitus with their normally tabu-ed female *mukul* (*vide* Chapter IV), as Kunapipi sexual partners (2), while other men (9) await their turn. It is these men who first "open up" the young girls with the boomerang, and then copulate with them. This rite is termed the *nukanmiri*. The drawing of the man and woman performing the sexual act is executed in the stylized traditional manner, so that the two figures merge (2): the man bends forward, grasping his partner at the back so that his arms pass under hers, while the woman clasps him with hands gripped at his back. She is lying on the ground with legs apart, her thighs resting on his hips, and her feet are crossed at his back; *vide* Chapter IV. footnote 14.

Ranged along and around the boomerang (1) are the brothers (3) of the girls and women with whom the men are copulating; they stand with their backs turned. They do not look at their sisters having coitus, in case they should be "shamed" (a manifestation of the deep-rooted local tabu between brother and sister). Instead, they sing while this is taking place, and do not themselves have ceremonial intercourse; their turn comes when the next Kunapipi is performed.

A focal point on the left hand side of the drawing is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (4), held by one man (10), while below it is a row of men (6) who are actual or classificatory husbands to the women having coitus on the opposite section (that is, 2). These husbands (like those at 9) await their turn with women (5) who are the "wives" (actual or otherwise) of the men on the opposite side (9); these women are already having coitus (5), and beside them (11) other men are waiting. Around the *nanggaru* (8) are men (7) dancing the opossum dance: they are the fathers (actual or classificatory) of both groups of women (at 5 and 2).

The fifth drawing,[8] Plate XIII and text figure 6, in black, red, green, blue, yellow and pencil, shows the sacred ground, with its essential emblems and plan: women are awaiting ceremonial intercourse,

7. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. In Chapter IV it was mentioned that only married women attended the Kunapipi ritual of ceremonial copulation; this was a Yirrkalla variant.
8. Reference: No. 3, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

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while there is no mention of defloration (which, as we have said, is not a feature of every Kunapipi).

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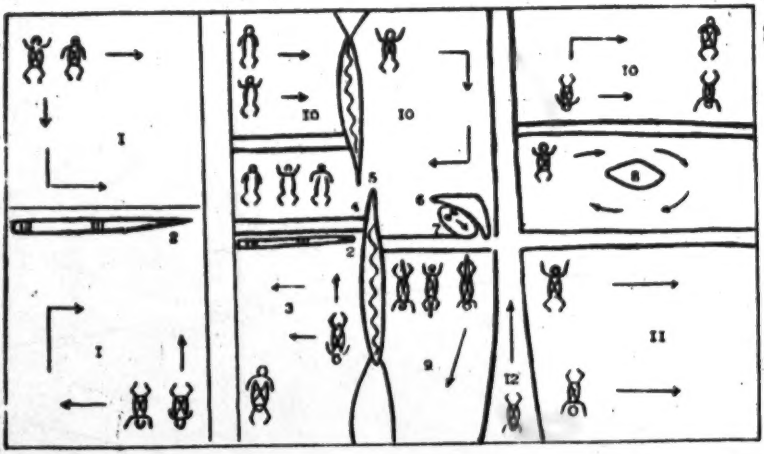

Text Figure 6.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIII.

Men dancing on the sacred ground, with women awaiting ceremonial intercourse.

On the left hand side of the drawing, ranged on either side, are men dancing (1); in the middle is the stick (2) used for pushing back the *jelmalandji* when they fall. They belong to both the *jiritja* and the *dua* moieties, and have blood smeared over their bodies; this symbolises the afterbirth and menstruation blood of the Wauwalak sisters.

In the central panel, to one side of the *darlpa jelmalandji* (4), are *dua* women (3), decorated like the men with fibre string crossed over their chest and body. They are awaiting ceremonial coitus and represent female opossums; they wear *diridiri* pubic aprons. On the opposite side are their Kunapipi sexual partners (9), representing male opossums, wearing long penes of paperbark.

Above is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (5), surrounded by dancing men (10) smeared with blood. In the corner is the *kanala* (6), with *muru* and *wari* novices (7) lying covered with sheets of paper-bark on the concave side. The sacred dancing and the *jelmalandji* have not yet been revealed to them.

On the right hand side is the *nanggaru* (8) with the same men (10) dancing around it, while below are others, also dancing (11). Along the track (12) leading to the *kanala* (6) are opossum men, dancing to surround the novices (7).

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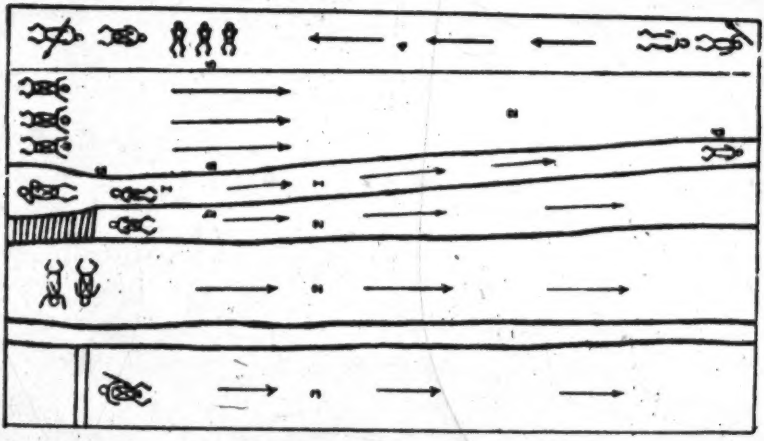
The sixth and final drawing,[9] Plate XIV and text figure 7, in black, green, yellow, red, and blue, represents the last stage of the Kunapipi.



Text Figure 7.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIV.
The last stage of the Kunapipi.

Across the centre of the drawing (1) is the *djepalmandji*, with its two rails (1 *a* and *b*) supported at either end on forked sticks (1 *c* and *d*). In each forked stick sits a *jiritja* man, repeatedly calling out. Under the boughs and branches strewn over the rails are the *wari* and *muru*.

Below the *djepalmandji* is a row of *jiritja* and *dua* dancing men (2); they move around the *djepalmandji*. On either side of the *djepalmandji* are other men (2) dancing. Further below, a row of men (3) wearing opossum-fur pubic coverings, and carrying spears, dances on to the *djepalmandji* ground. Above, a row of men (4) leads some novices (5) towards the forked stick "shade". The ground is now arranged ready for the entry of the women, who are called by the two *jiritja* men sitting in the forks of the *djepalmandji*.

[171] These drawings, then, reveal concisely the main features of the Kunapipi ceremonies. They show striking similarity to a collection of Kunapipi (Kalwadi) drawings obtained in the central-western part of the Northern Territory.

9. Reference: No. 4, Series B, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, R. Berndt.

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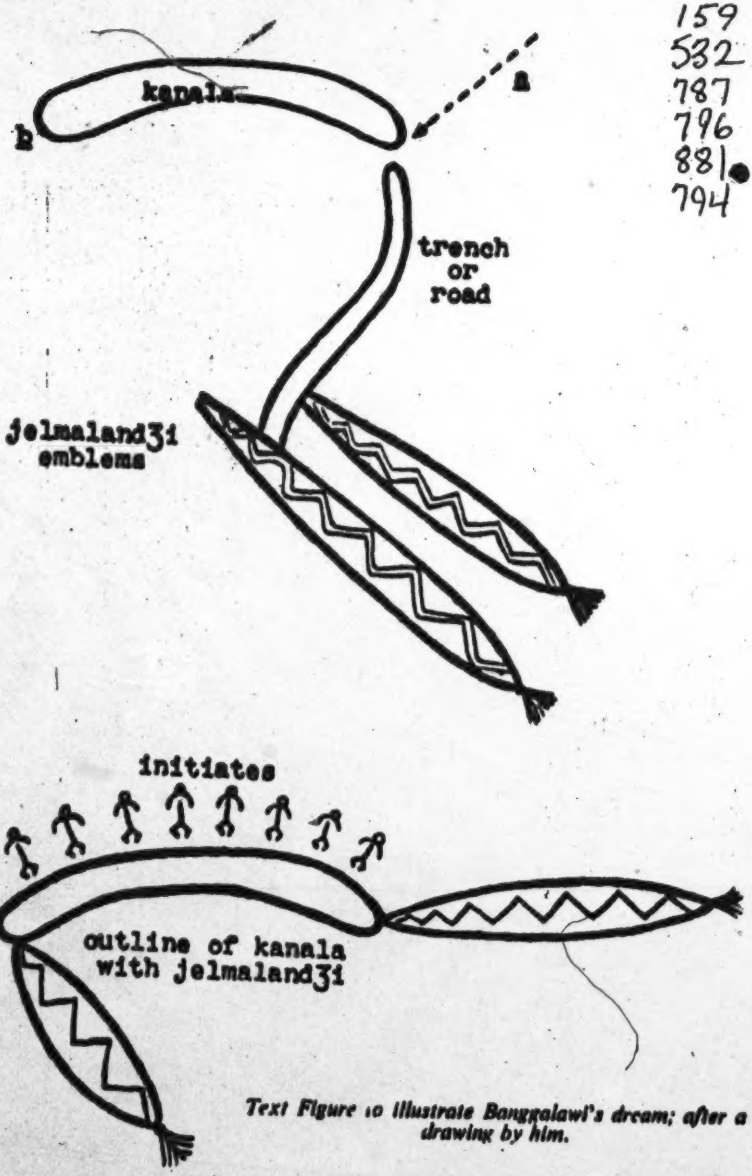

Text Figure 10 Illustrate Bangalawi's dream; after a drawing by him.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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159 787 796 "We, that is Mo:ra (a *dua* Dadawi *mata*, Kapin *mala* man), Mo:ra's young brother (dead), some other *dua* men, and I 'walked' (along *a* in text figure 8), paused, and shook the branches tied to our forearms; we went on into the *kanala*, and huddled together. While in there, we called out twice; then we came out, and stood alongside the *kanala* (at *b*).

"Then we returned to the main camp and slept.

"Next morning, we went back to the sacred ground and the *kanala*, and re-decorated ourselves with blood and feather down. Then we 'took' new 'spring' water dancing, and came into the main part of the ground (along *a*), shaking our branches, and 'going inside' the *kanala*. We sang out from in there, and emerged (at *b*). Then we danced the Lightning Snake and the Yellow Snake, going into the *kanala* each time. When we had finished these, we rested.

"After that we walked down the 'road' (or trench, at *c*), until we reached a group of *jiritja* men standing round the *jelmalandji*. All the *jiritja* moved back (to *a*) and 'took' opossum dancing; they came (down *a*) and began to dance around the *kanala*, 'rubbing it out so nobody could see'. They kept on dancing until it was completely covered, and then went over and stood by the *jelmalandji*.

159 787 796 ●981 "They carried the *jelmalandji* over to what had been the *kanala*, and placed one at each end, standing them upright in the ground (as in the lower part of the illustrated text figure marked 2). All the young boys who were initiates were then brought on to the ground; the *dua* boys, *muru*, came in one bunch, and the *jiritja* boys, *wari* (or *warii*), came in another bunch. They were placed on one side (the convex side) of the *kanala*, and told to lie down as if they were asleep: men covered them with blankets. They had not seen the *jelmalandj* when they were brought in, for their guardians had their hands held over the boys' eyes.

"Then we sang for a while and danced, until our singing changed: I was leading the singing, beating on my sticks. We threw off the boys' coverings, and told them to look up at the *jelmalandji*. We showed them these sacred posts, and sang and danced all night till just before sunrise. When the sun was getting up, we opened our veins again and let out blood. And this blood we smeared all over the boys' bodies, and over the men. Then we put *marapipi* bands on their foreheads. We smeared more blood over the boys.

[291] "We undid their *naga* (loin cloths) and put bark-fibre from the *duranggulp* 'coffee' tree around their waists, and branches of green leaves in front like a pubic apron. We plucked *maipi*, ironwood tree, branches and tied them on the boys' arms at the elbows and shoulders, on their thighs and on their legs below the knees. We sang over them as we do in the Kunapipi.

"When they were all ready, we took them to the *djepalmani* (that is, *djepalmandji*) that had been erected on the edge of the main camp,

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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on the way to the sacred ground, and we put those boys under the branches and covered them up. The *jiritja* men were sitting in the forks of the *djepalmani*, and calling out. I was walking around beating my sticks and singing. 159 787 796 881

"The women came towards the *djepalmani* and sat around it. And the two *jiritja* men were calling out, because that Snake had swallowed the Wauwalak sisters.

"And just at that moment, we all became *wonga:r* Dreaming people. All the women who had been sitting there, around the *djepalmani*, had been swallowed by the Snake; for the *jelmalandji* had come down from the sacred ground and turned into Julunggul. Some of us who were *wonga:r* were brothers of the women who had been swallowed. We brothers were looking around for our sisters: 'Where have our sisters gone?' We began to cry out, 'Where are you, our sisters?' And as we were calling, the Julunggul, or *jelmalandji*, vomited all the women so that they fell back into the places where they had been sitting around the *djepalmani*. And the white ants came up to them and bit them and made them alive. 'Ah, our sisters are back,' we cried out. And we changed back from being *wonga:r* people, and we began to sing out ritually because of this.

"We said to the women, 'Look at our *djepalmani*. See the flying foxes sitting in the forks of the tree: they are hanging there. And that rail across from one forked post to the other is a straight branch; and under that straight branch, all the young flying foxes are hanging covered with foliage'. (These are the initiates holding on to the rail under cover of branches, beneath the *djepalmani*.)

"And I came into this cleared place in front of the women and the *djepalmani*, calling out like a man coming after those flying foxes, hunting them, shaking the forked posts as I would shake a tree full of flying foxes. That means that these flying foxes see me and fly over from that tree. And the two men in the forks, who were flying foxes, cried out from their branches; and all the other men danced in, like men coming to hunt the flying foxes.

"All the women changed back to *wonga:r* women and became the Wauwalak sisters; only these were not two, but many. They held yam sticks, just like the Wauwalak sisters did. They cried out for the boys in the *djepalmani*, '*wa ! wa ! wa !*' and the sound of it flew in all directions. Then we men danced in again and circled around them and the *djepalmani*. But just as we began to dance, I awoke".

The informant commented that he dreamt this Kunapipi dream because he had been talking a lot about the Kunapipi rituals and the *ngu:rlmak* (some ceremonies in the latter concern flying foxes); he had been thinking and worrying about them, wondering when they could be held, and so his dream was a natural outcome of this. [828]

The dream itself needs little interpretation, for its description of the ritual varies little from what has already been described. The 159 787 796

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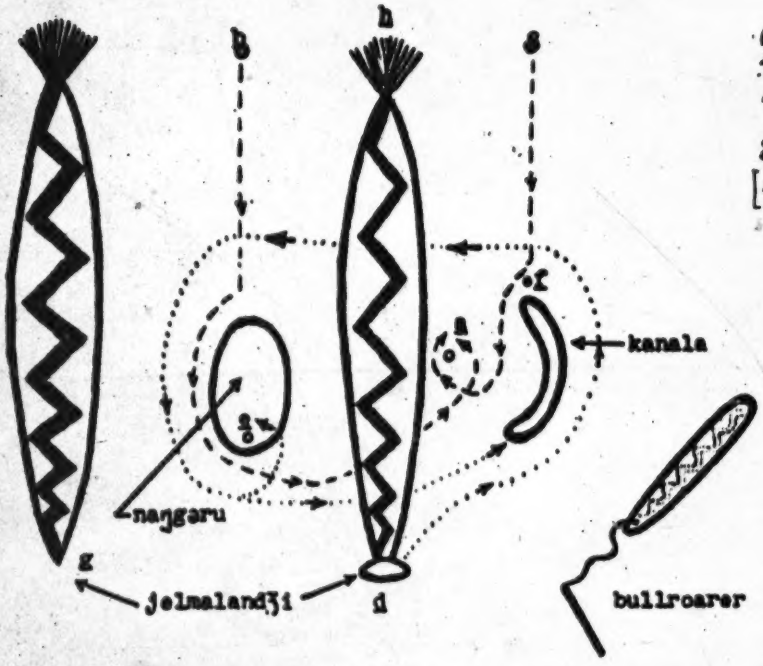

Text Figure 9 to illustrate a dream by Gumuk: after a drawing by him.

"I was dreaming Kunapipi side. I was standing (at *a*, in text figure 9 illustrated here) in the sacred ground, calling out; twice I called out. When I had finished, a lot of men and young boys (that is, initiates) came down the ground. They came in two lines (*b* and *c*), both being *ngulkaru* (that is, 'strangers' or Kunapipi visitors), and among the men were the *wari* (*jiritja* initiates). One lot (*b*) came down and around the *nanggaru* billabong, while the other lot (*c*) moved down past the *kanala* 'river' (that is, uterus trench) and surrounded me (at *a*). The *wari* went down to *d* below the *jelmalandji*, and were covered up by the old men ('the people who look after the sacred grounds'). You see the *jelmalandji* in my drawing (that is text figure 9), well, that is Julunggul swallowing the young boys; you see it rising up above them. In my dream the *jelmalandji* is 'alive' like that big Snake.

"Over by the *nanggaru* (at *e*) was standing Djuwalji (a *jiritja* Gumaitj *mata* man). And as the people surrounded me (at *a*), I walked over (to *f*) and stood there on one end of the *kanala* mound. From there I sang out for all that lot below the *jelmalandji* (at *d*); they moved forward (out of Julunggul) and encircled the *kanala* and

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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159 the *nanggaru*; some went into the *nanggaru*, and others went on and
787 into the *kanala*. All the men with the young initiates called out, when
796 they paused now and then on their way to the *kanala* and *nanggaru*;
and they all made a big noise while standing there.

881 "Then the men danced around the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, but did not go into them. They danced the 'Lightning whipping (that is, striking) the tree', which we call the *djamala*; but it is also called by the sacred terms *djeimbalma*, *gurungandungandu*, *w'raidji'kaijunduna*, *kokarara*, and *kanggarara*, which mean the flash of lightning striking and splitting the tree. While we danced, the *dua* men swung the bullroarers, which we call *maralpan(dji)*, *pundjarlari* and *kindji:lari*, while its human hair string attachment (the tail of the Snake) is *jurawa*, *mikara*, *libana* or *djuruwalimbana*. The bullroarer is like the Snake [749] himself calling, for when you swing it, twirling it from the stick to which the cord is attached, you send lightning all over the place.

"Then we called and sang the sacred names of the *kanala*: [539] *'kanala ; kanala'indja ; ju:tubilmani : kanu:lanawalkwalkgwina; Kanala'buldjalwondinja ; kanala'djeijil'malindjei ; kanala'madpaindi:nja; kanala'buramanbir'* (e.g. see Chapter VII, Song 3).

"We turned to the *nanggaru*, the Snake's hole, to the place where Djuwalji was standing (at *e*), which was the mark made by the Snake when it came out of the *nanggaru*. And we called and sang the sacred names of the *nanggaru*: *'nanggaru ; wuninbilibaija ; wa:ngnanggu ; baiala; djalpunbu; wandi:ku; buldjalwondi; winibini:nbailji ; buldjalwondinja*—the nest in which the Snake lies.'

"We turned to the two *jelmalandji*, the Snake towering over the place where the initiates had been lying, and the "cabbage" palm at *g*. And we called and sang their sacred names:

" *'kanggara ; dju:randju:ran'kanggara ; gumanangaleija'angaleija ;* [539] *gumanangali:tjbili:tjbi ; gumana'wu:rulndja'wu:rulndja ; ru:kari ; windigwi:agwi:a'windigwi:agwi:a ; djalparu'ru:karwa ; bu:ra:rwa ; wuraldja ; gumalanga'ngeidjangeidja ; gumanang'ngali'djili:dji ; windigwi:agwi:a'djanggara.'* (This last word is chanted when the Kunapipi headman beats his sticks as the *jelmalandji* are pushed over.) And we pushed down the *jelmalandji*, so that the *watamunu*, [616] the emu-feathered tops, fell off. The main *jelmalandji* (*h*) was for the *dua* linguistic groups of Marakulu and Ri:radjingu; while the other (*g*) was for the Murungun, Djapu and Djarwak, *dua* groups.

"As the bullroarer was swung, its string broke, and the loose piece of wood flew over and hit a *durilji* gum tree: the impact was so powerful that the tree split, and pieces fell to each side. Then we walked over to pick up the bullroarer, and as I bent down I awoke."

Gumuk said that anger was the cause of this dream: he had cooked [828] some rice for his supper, leaving it on the fire. When he came back for it, it was gone; someone had stolen it. He was "a bit sorry for himself, because he had been cooking just for nothing". He went to

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

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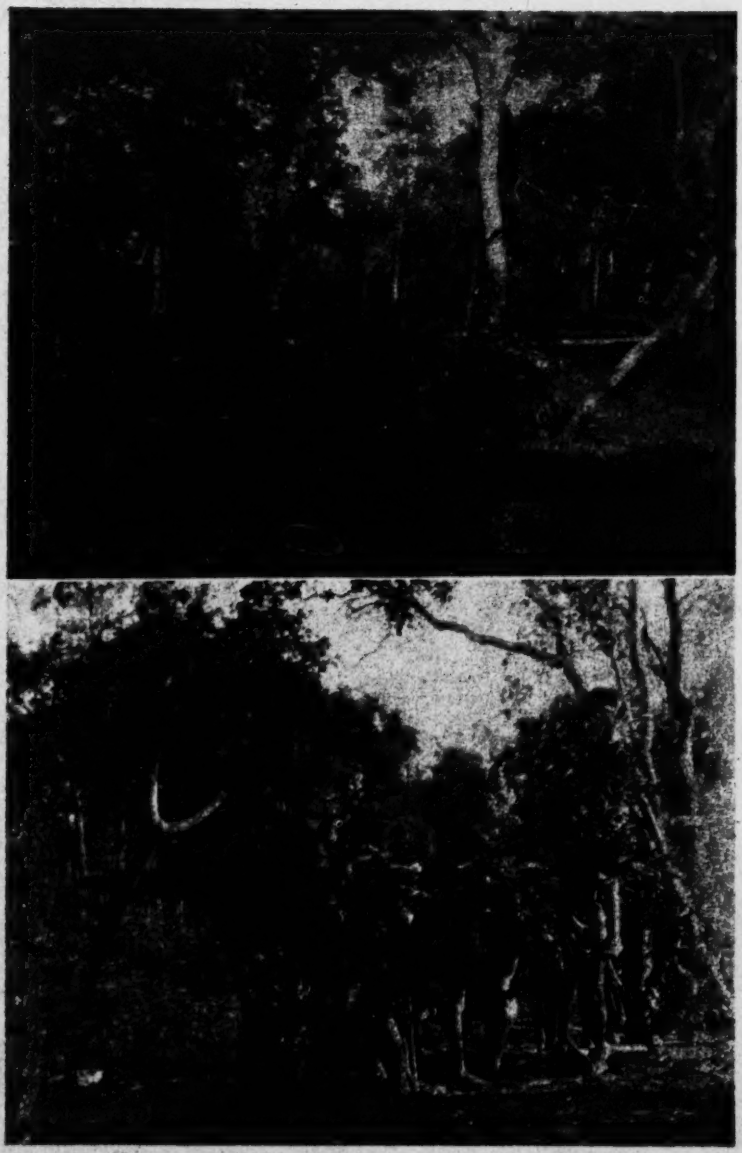

PLATE IX

[Facing p. 81]

[For sections see Stevens 116 p. xii]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

sleep feeling hungry, and dreamt about this Kunapipi. That is, he went back to his "Dreaming" for consolation. [828]

Most of this dream too consists of description of ritual, but not in conventional sequence. Some interesting aspects appear, which amplify our previous discussion of the Kunapipi. There is complete identification of the *jelmalandji* with the Julunggul Snake. But Gumuk re-interpreted the *kanala* and *nanggaru* in commenting on his dream. He said that the *nanggaru* was actually the "Mother's" (that is, the Wauwalak's) uterus, while the *kanala* was the channel ("river") or passage of the vagina, "through which people passed in the Dreaming" (that is, during the period when the Wauwalak walked the earth). He was possibly interpolating here his own theory as to the meaning of these symbols, for usually the *kanala* is the uterus and the *nanggaru* the place of the big Snake. This individual interpretation, however, is extremely valuable; for it is far more logical to classify the *nanggaru*, which is round or oval, as a uterus, and the *kanala*, narrow and resembling a channel, as a vagina. Gumuk's reference to people passing through the *kanala* in the "Dreaming period", is connected with the idea that the Mother "let out" people from her womb, so that they could perform sacred ritual, returning when this was completed. This aspect is not apparent in Yirrkalla mythology; Gumuk possibly assimilated it from Rose River, where Kunapipi ritual has a stronger hold of the people's imagination and sacred activity, and where it is more likely to be influenced by external features. [177]

The calling of the sacred alternate names for the Lightning dancing, the bullroarer and its string, the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, as well as for the *jelmalandji*, has not been mentioned before in our discussion. [552] The concept is found, however, in the calling of the *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukalilji* (*jiritja*), or "power" names of invocation, and some of these are widely distributed. The use of the term *djamala*, in reference to the "Lightning whipping" dance, is equivalent to the *djamala mareiin* mentioned in Chapter IV, which consists of the throwing of fire-sticks; both refer to the Snake's sending lightning so that a tree was split and the Wauwalak were frightened. The climax of Gumuk's dream is the breaking of the bullroarer's string while it is being twirled: it flies through the air and splits a tree, but is itself undamaged. This symbolizes Julunggul's act of sending lightning to split a tree, for the bullroarer "is like the Snake" (that is, part of its spirit), and its whirling "like lightning". It is the natural culmination of the *djamala* dancing around the *nanggaru* and *kanala*.

The final dream also belongs to Gumuk.[5] [574]

"I have been dreaming about Kunapipi, and two 'Dreaming' men

5. Reference: Book 12, Series A, Dec. 27th, 1946.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

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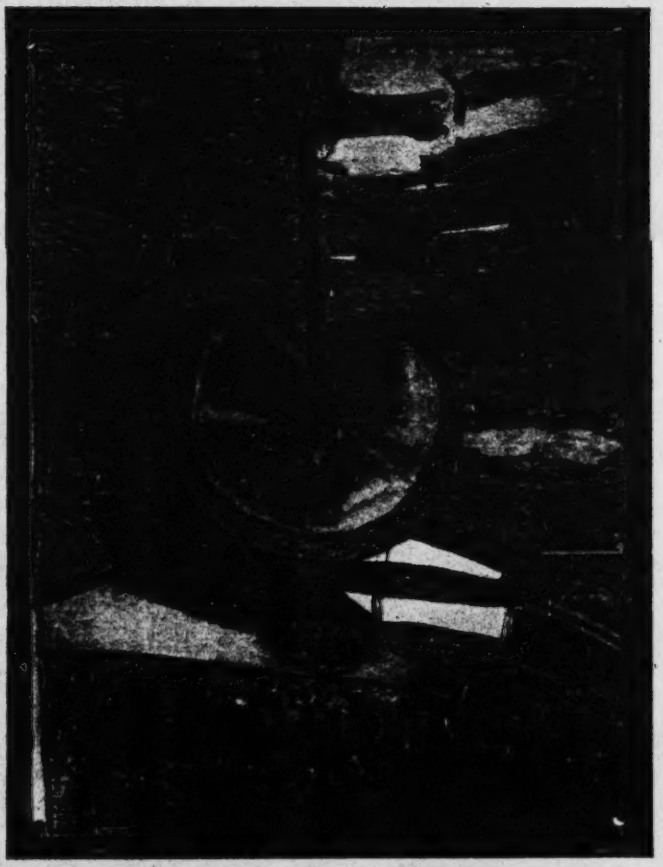

PLATE XI

[p. 84(B)]
[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 62-63.—Analyst]

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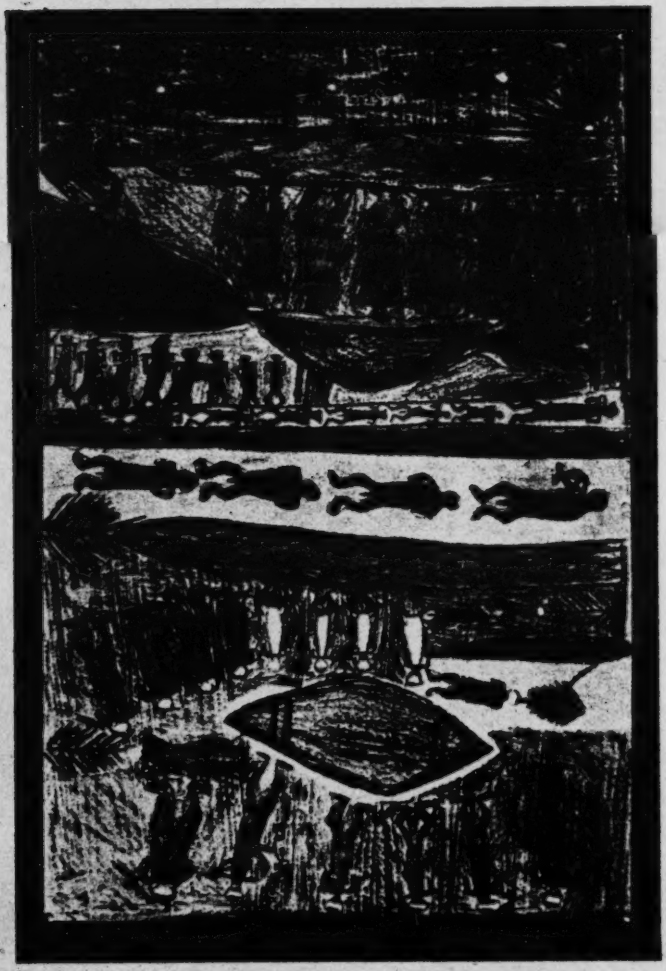

PLATE XII

[p. 84(c)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 65-66.—Analyst]

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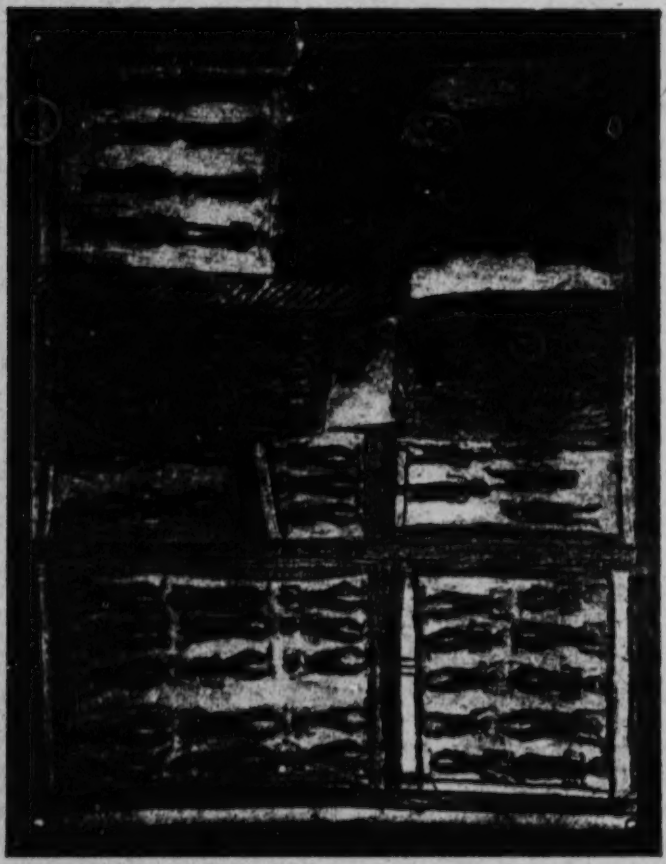

PLATE XIII

[p. 84(D)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 68-69.-Analyst]

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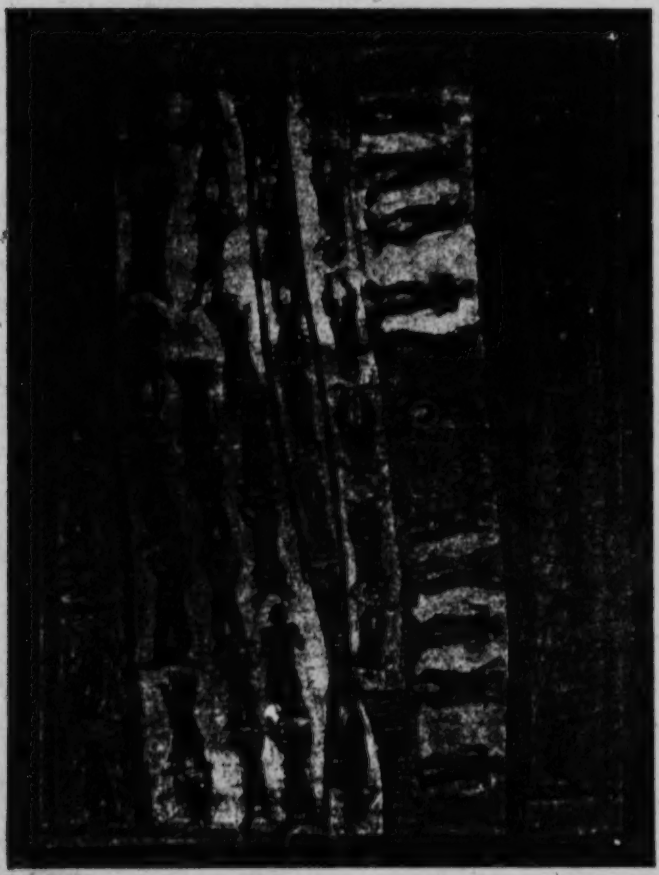

PLATE XIV

[p. 84(E)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, p. 70. — Analyst]

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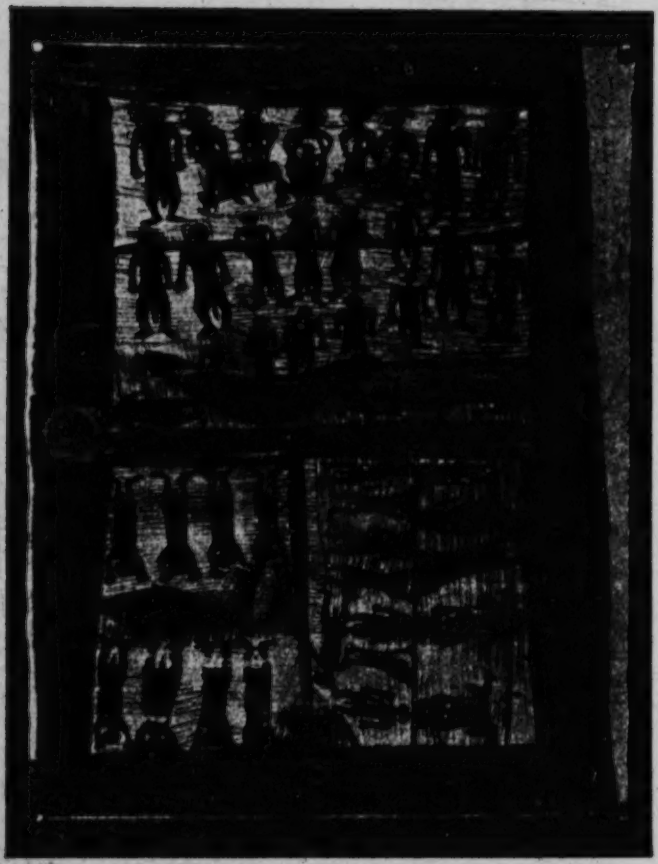

PLATE XVII

[p. 84(H)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 67-68.—Analyst]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

Since writing this book, the author and his wife have been able to spend a further period of anthropological research (1949-1950) in western Arnhem Land around Oenpelli, and in central-northern Arnhem Land about Milingimbi Island in the Crocodile Group.

At Oenpelli the complete series of Kunapipi rituals was seen twice through, photographed, and descriptions recorded; to supplement this, a mass of data was collected in relation to Kunapipi song cycles and mythology (mostly in interlinear text). The Oenpelli rituals relating to this cult have been introduced to this area within recent years, and were under the direction of ceremonial headmen with Gunwinggu affinities, whose home territory lay further to the south-east towards south-western Arnhem Land (the source of the Liverpool and Wilton Rivers). The cult had been brought into north-central Arnhem Land from the south on the one hand, and from north-central Arnhem Land via the source of the Liverpool on the other. The rituals witnessed by the author were the first complete series ever performed at Oenpelli; a number of adult Gunwinggu men (otherwise fully initiated) passed through them as "novices", being obliged to undertake all the customary and relevant obligations. The first series was held about half-way through the monsoonal season, and the second a little before the onset of the dry weather.

In the Milingimbi region full groups of songs relating to the Kunapipi were recorded, together with all relevant data.

The above will be discussed and presented in a future volume dealing with the regions concerned.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OII7 Murngin OII7

775 763 hundred miles away, and it was thought that two Yirrkala men had been killed. The men who were with me immediately supported the tidings with the evidence of the fires in the bush, that had obviously been lit by the mali of the dead men, who had travelled the hundred miles to inform their friends.

775 Unexpected and distant smoke is at times considered to come from mali camp-fires. Without consciously contradicting the statement that mali are spirits, Yulengor complacently attribute unrecognizable footprints and other physical functions to them. An unknown canoe carried in on the tide or found on an island is accepted as having been used by mali when hunting or fishing.

562 ●881 Women have been assigned a very inferior place in aboriginal society, and it almost seems that they attend some ceremonies to focus attention on the men. But at least one ceremony is carried out entirely by women, at the coming of a first menstrual period.

A young wife, on recognizing the menarche, informs her mother, who then forbids her to leave her windbreak. Food and water are brought to her, and most likely she will [285] curl up in her 'nganmurra', or cone-shaped mat, till she [303] recovers. She is painted with two bands of clay below the shoulders, and red, yellow, and white vertical lines are made between these bands. Whenever menstruation recurs, 362 841 women smear themselves with ochre and painstakingly abstain from eating men's food. Dugong, turtle, fish, and [302] birds are regarded as men's food, and men are expected to [462] spear them; women content themselves with collecting yams, roots, and shellfish. With undisguised chagrin, a wife in this temporary quarantine will sit with her husband and his wives round the camp-fire, painted red and with her back turned, and will nibble a yam or shellfish whilst the family consume turtle, kangaroo, or fish.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

YULENGOR

828 827 Stone Age man believes that his emotions are seated in his stomach, and his names for anger, fear, jealousy, and the rest, are descriptive of the changes that take place in the stomach in generating emotion. They make no distinction between anger, indignation, and jealousy; they are known as 'ngoi-mari-buna' ('ngoi' referring to underneath or the foundation), meaning the stomach boils.

[578] A man who refuses to support his relative in a quarrel is called 'ngoi kapumiri'; that is, he has a watery stomach (or as we should say in English 'no guts').

Pleasure, joy, and happiness are dependent on the stomach, which subsides into a peaceful calm on hearing welcome news. It was explained that when a man sees an enemy approaching, his stomach boils and his anger rises, but if the enemy says he has come to make peace, the man's anger disappears and his stomach subsides into a flat calm 'like the sea after a storm'; he has 'the wind taken out of his sails'.

Sorrow and regret also rise from the stomach. Fear comes from the same source, and rises and swells in the throat; Stone Age man also knows something about his 'heart in his mouth'.

[593] Love is dependent on the stomach, and the affection of a father for his son, or the devotion of mothers for their children, boils from the depths. I was reminded of the ageless biblical story of Joseph's meeting his treacherous half-brothers after many years; he was speechless, 'For his bowels did yearn for his (youngest) brother'.

152 It has often been suggested that aborigines have not the same highly developed affection for each other as white people, but nothing could be farther from the truth. Devotion is genuine, and intimate, and is openly expressed on scores of occasions which in a white community would call for little more than passing sympathy. The first initiation 304 881 in a boy's life reaches its climax in circumcision, when wide- [302] spread emotion is expressed. Women, girls, and children

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OII7 Murngin OII7

of the hordes sit apprehensively under shady trees whilst the men paint intricate totemic designs on the initiates. More often than not several hordes meet for the occasion, and all the boys between eight and ten years of age are prepared by relatives. Armlets, dilly-bags and trinkets are hung around their necks for decorative purposes, and sometimes they carry a knife or steel tomahawk. When their moment arrives, the boys are brought to the ceremonial ground, and the men dance and sing with increasing emotion, till at last they bunch together and with kindly reluctant movements force each boy into the arms of a crouching man who supports and holds him. Women relatives close in and dance around the tightly packed circle and wail in rising agitation, others gash their heads, and girl playmates of the initiates cry amongst the trees and cut their breasts with sharp shells. An invitation is often extended to a visiting Yulengor to perform the actual operation, which is frequently prolonged by the use of a stone knife or spearhead. The loud purposeful calls of the men seldom drown the cries of the victim. It is then that a wave of emotion sweeps over the entire camp.

When a nomad is sick the relatives will crouch tightly around him, and their excessively mournful sympathy is conducive to moans and vapours from the patient. Eye-rolling and groans will accompany even simple sprains and abdominal pains and inspire sympathetic cries and wails. At the approach of death, the next of kin draw near pathetically brushing flies from the patient, attempting to sustain warmth with sheets of paper-bark, but unwittingly stifling him in a turgid atmosphere. There are wails and shrieks if continuous movement is not seen from some part of the body. Commotion at death is indescribable; women deliberately hurl themselves on the ground with loud cries, and they wail loudly and tremulously as they stab their heads with sharp stones and shells.

Egyptians preserved mummified bodies in pyramids,

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

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HEAD CUTTING FOR SORROW OR JOY

Mothers 'rejoicing' for sons they had thought dead

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INITIATION CEREMONY

Painting a boy for his initiation-circumcision

[facing p 134]

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

the Junkgowa met the Men with the clap-sticks and learned that they had come from Murungga Island, one of the Crocodile Islands. Like old Men previously encountered, these also claimed to be self-created Junkgowa from the Murrnggin clan; they had crossed over to Elcho Island to prevent the female Junkgowa coming to the coast. This temporary restraint was soon overcome, and the Men called the Women 'gutara' or brothers' or sisters' grandchildren, and the Women reciprocated with 'mari' or grandparents' brothers.

On the first night, the Men brought out their clap-sticks, and like modern nomads they entertained their visitors with horde songs. But their timing was so fast, that the visitors were shocked, and said they would teach them a new song; thereupon they introduced them to the celebrated Ngara ceremony. After it was all over the Men conceded that they had a lot to learn about singing: 'We may be better at food-gathering, but you Women are our superiors in singing and totemic lore. We would like to sing your way.' Thus the old Murrnggin songs lapsed and the Junkgowa ceremonies were established.

Many songs were sung through the night, and as the Men began to sing them, a subterranean being, 'Bunar-ka' (literally a roll of paper-bark), rose out of the sand and thumped the ground in unison. Bunar-ka is totemically linked with the rite of circumcision, and the Junkgowa made the most of the occasion by taking two Murrnggin boys and initiating them beside the sun-stone. Designs were painted on the boys, and they were loaded with belts, armlets, and other brightly coloured decorations still used in circumcision ceremonies. They sang and danced the usual preliminaries, and then chipped a sharp flake from the sun-stone with which to perform the operation. As it neared completion, the youths sank into the sand, and later came up some distance offshore, leaving an outcrop of rock to